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28 JAN 1970

TRENDS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
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in Communist Propaganda

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28 January 1970
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TOPICS AND EVENTS GIVEN MAJOR ATTENTION 19 - 25 JANUARY 1970

Moscow (3539 items)

East European Science	(--)	8%
Academies Conference		
on Lenin		
Criticism of China	(6%)	7%
Vietnam	(3%)	4%
Middle East	(3%)	3%
GDR-West German	(1.5%)	2%
Relations		
Nixon's First Year	(--)	2%

Peking (2634 items)

Domestic Issues	(56%)	49%
Sino-DRV Relations	(--)	6%
Anniversary		
Indian People's	(5%)	6%
Struggles		
Laotian Army Anni-	(--)	4%
versary		
Middle East	(2%)	3%
Sino-Albanian Trade	(--)	3%
Agreement		

These statistics are based on the voicecast commentary output of the Moscow and Peking domestic and international radio services. The term "commentary" is used to denote the lengthy item—radio talk, speech, press article or editorial, government or party statement, or diplomatic note. Items of extensive reportage are counted as commentaries.

Figures in parentheses indicate volume of comment during the preceding week.

Topics and events given major attention in terms of volume are not always discussed in the body of the Trends. Some may have been covered in prior issues; in other cases the propaganda content may be routine or of minor significance.

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VIETNAM WEEKLY REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

At the 51st session of the Paris talks on 22 January both the PRG and DRV delegates took note of the first anniversary of the talks and assessed the reason for the Paris "deadlock." Other comment marking the anniversary includes a 23 January Hanoi radio commentary--entitled "The United States Must Be Held Responsible for the Paris Conference Deadlock"--which bluntly labels as a "lie" President Nixon's statement in his State of the Union address on the 22d that "the prospects for peace in Vietnam are far greater today than they were a year ago." Subsequent Hanoi and Front comment on the President's address also take exception to his statement, and Liberation Radio on the 24th observes that "Nixon said nothing about measures for ending the Vietnam war."

Hanoi and Front propaganda on the President's address as well as statements at the Paris session continue the criticism of Vietnamization. And PRG Foreign Minister Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh in her 22 January statement counters U.S. arguments by saying: "It is not the lack of progress at the Paris conference that compels the United States to Vietnamize the war, but it is because the United States tries to Vietnamize the war . . . that the conference has been brought to a standstill."

Moscow propaganda on the State of the Union message says there was nothing new in President Nixon's comments on Vietnam. Commentators say that while the President sees Vietnamization as the road to peace, the policy in fact is nothing but a continuation of aggression. Acknowledgment of the U.S. Command's announcement that the withdrawal of the next 50,000 troops has begun comes on the 27th in a domestic service commentary which uses the announcement as a peg to repeat standard criticism of the Vietnamization policy.

The November "massacre" in Quang Nam Province in which South Vietnamese and South Korean troops allegedly killed more than 700 civilians gets continued attention both at the Paris session and in other propaganda. A Liberation Radio commentary on the 20th, denouncing allied "crimes" in general, contains a rare denial of charges that the communists massacred civilians in Hue during the 1968 Tet offensive.

The continuing spate of propaganda reviewing allied "defeats" and communist "victories" includes a new series of articles attributed to "Truc Chien" (hand-to-hand combat). Discussions of attempts to implement the "untenable" Vietnamization policy includes a NHAN DAN article on the 28th, reviewed by VNA, which hails the "big victories" won by the army and people in Binh Long and Phuoc Long provinces on

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20 and 21 January. A QUAN DOI NHAN DAN article on the 19th says that in the delta and highland regions there have been failures of the Vietnamization formula "puppet infantry, U.S. firepower."

On the 28th, VNA claims the downing of three U.S. planes by the DRV over the western parts of Quang Binh and Ha Tinh provinces, bringing the total to 3,331. The last DRV claim, on 14 November, alleged that a plane was downed on the 10th. Following the report, VNA carries a VPA High Command communique commending the "victorious units" and the people of the provinces.

Propaganda on North Vietnamese domestic topics continues to devote attention to the upcoming 3 February anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Workers Party (VWP). Hanoi publicizes more reports on emulation activities to mark the anniversary and selected writings by Ho Chi Minh, and VNA on the 24th issues a chronology of main events in the party's history. Also on 24 January, the domestic service announces that it will broadcast a series of programs based on a discussion of aspects of party affairs at a specially organized meeting. Without mentioning the party anniversary, a NHAN DAN editorial on the 22d discusses the need for party members to play an exemplary role in labor.

Attention is also given to thrift in the army: Hanoi's domestic service reports on the 22d that the Defense Ministry "recently" held an all-army conference of good financial management units which set forth measures to further develop and improve financial management in the army.

NCNA on the 23d reports the banquet held that evening in Peking by DRV Ambassador Ngo Thuyen to celebrate the 20th anniversary of CPR-DRV diplomatic relations. In his speech at the banquet, the Chinese representative, Vice Minister Han Nien-lung, routinely accused the United States of playing "counterrevolutionary tactics" in Vietnam and as usual urged the Vietnamese to continue fighting, declaring that they will be victorious if they persist in protracted war. On the 20th Peking reported the CPR ambassador's banquet held in Hanoi that evening to greet the anniversary. Hanoi media have not yet mentioned either banquet.

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HANOI, FRONT ON STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

HANOI The first available Vietnamese communist reference to the President's 22 January State of the Union address comes in the Hanoi radio commentary reviewing the year-long Paris talks, broadcast first on the 23d and repeated on the 24th. The commentary quotes the President's remark that "the prospects for peace in Vietnam are far greater today than they were a year ago" and says "this is a lie." Subsequent Hanoi and Front commentaries uniformly cite the President's remark but are less blunt in refuting it. Not surprisingly, no comment acknowledges the President's remark that much of the credit for the improved prospects for peace goes to Congress, which "completely demolished the enemy's hopes that they can gain in Washington the victory our fighting men deny them in Vietnam."

The first comprehensive Hanoi reaction to the speech is a VNA editorialized account on the 24th. It says the address afforded the President an opportunity to "repeat his stubborn and perfidious policy in both foreign and domestic affairs." VNA notes that whereas the Voice of America had indicated the message would deal only with domestic matters, Mr. Nixon "devoted a long passage to foreign affairs." It acknowledges the President's remarks on the priority the United States assigns to world peace, an end to the war in Vietnam, and the winning of a just peace that the next generation would be able to keep, commenting that these are "allegations obviously aimed at covering the wicked design of the Nixon Administration." VNA says that if there was anything new in the President's address it was his "more elaborate sophistry" in speaking of the U.S. desire for peace in Vietnam and the world. As for the President's remarks on domestic affairs, VNA says he could not hide a "tragic situation" when in his first year as President the United States has "further deteriorated" in the political, economic, and social spheres.

On the 25th there are commentaries on the speech in both NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, the former saying that on Vietnam the President used "boastful words in contradiction to realities." It declares that the President's redefinition of America's "so-called new policies"--the idea that the primary burden of the defense of Asian countries allied with the United States rests with those countries themselves--attests to a "failure of U.S. imperialism on the world scale." NHAN DAN asserts that the President did not refer to domestic difficulties now facing the United States, but "only spoke optimistically" of the prospects of the U.S. economy. It counters by saying that "as everyone knows, so long as the United States continues its aggression in Vietnam, pouring into this war more than 30 billion dollars every year, the U.S. economy will continue to meet with ever greater difficulties." NHAN DAN sees an end to the war as the "main and most pressing demand" of the American people.

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THE FRONT Liberation Radio, commenting on the 24th, says there was "nothing new" in the address beyond "pompous but empty words." It summarizes the main foreign affairs themes, including the statement that Vietnam peace prospects are brighter than a year ago, and comments that the President did not speak about measures to end the war and that "what Nixon called the outlook for peace is only a bluff." The commentary then, in routine terms, reviews the course of the war under President Nixon and claims, among other things, that in the past year U.S. combat casualties have increased "day by day."

An LPA commentary carried by the news agency on the 24th, broadcast the following day by Liberation Radio, says the President spoke of America's priorities for peace in the world "as if he were the only person in the world to care for peace." The LPA Commentator asks rhetorically what he has done to bring peace to America and the world, and what he has done to enable him to call prospects for peace greater than they were in January 1969. Characteristically, LPA's replies to these questions add up to an attack on the Administration's Vietnamization plan, its "utter obduracy" regarding the Paris talks, and its rejection of the NFLSV 10-point solution. The commentator concludes by warning that President Nixon's fate "will be even gloomier than Johnson's."

MOSCOW ON STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Moscow commentators note that the President promised a separate message to Congress on foreign affairs* and observe that there was nothing new in his comments on Vietnam in the State of the Union message. Some comment complains that the President "evaded" the Vietnam issue. A 24 January TASS report cites "American newspapers" as criticizing the speech for avoiding "many of the burning problems of America," including the fact that the mass of Americans disagree with the President's Vietnam policy and want the "earliest withdrawal" of troops. TASS cites U.S. commentators as calling the message a "propaganda document" written with an eye to this year's congressional elections.

* While most of Moscow's comment is critical of the President's speech, a Babich domestic service commentary on the 25th acknowledges "some shifts" in the Administration's foreign policy. Babich calls U.S. ratification of the nonproliferation treaty and agreement to participate in SALT "steps toward realism," and he also notes the President's stress on the importance of U.S.-Soviet relations and his repetition of the formula on an era of confrontation giving way to an era of negotiations.

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A Vavilov commentary broadcast in foreign languages on 23 January says the President failed to "discuss" Vietnam, "the most important and basic question of U.S. foreign and domestic policies." Vavilov complains that although President Nixon campaigned in 1968 on a promise to make maximum efforts for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, after a year there is "no hint" of a settlement, with the Administration doing "everything possible" to prevent the Paris talks from producing results and following the Vietnamization policy which in fact means "endless aggression" in Vietnam.

Several commentators make the point that Vietnam is a basic cause of the domestic unrest with which the President dealt at length in his address. The higher prices facing the American consumer are said to result from budget deficits caused by the arms race and the Vietnam war. A Moscow broadcast in English to North America on the 26th, stressing that a large part of the address was devoted to domestic crimes and violence, remarks that the Vietnam war has become a domestic affair of the United States. The war, says the commentator, is "organized injustice" and "legitimized brutality" and is spreading the same kind of mood in the United States.

PARIS TALKS: 21 JANUARY SESSION, ANNIVERSARY COMMENT

At the 51st session of the Paris talks on 22 January both PRG delegate Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh--back after missing three sessions, ostensibly because of illness--and DRV delegate Ha Van Lau took the occasion of the first anniversary of the talks to assess the conference record and the reasons for the Paris "deadlock."

Mme. Binh claimed that for over a year the NFLSV-PRG delegation had always upheld the South Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and right to self-determination and on this basis put forward the five-point position and later the 10-point solution. She also repeated three specific proposals made during the year by the PRG delegation--PRG willingness to discuss concrete issues if the United States agrees with the 10-point stance on the questions of troop withdrawal and a provisional coalition government, willingness to discuss a timetable and the security of troops given U.S. agreement to withdraw in six months, and PRG readiness to engage in direct talks with the United States on all issues.

The VNA account* refers only to Mme. Binh's reference to the introduction of the 10-point solution, but in reporting DRV delegate Ha Van Lau's statement it does include his reference to the proposal that given U.S.

* Liberation Radio normally has carried a full text of the PRG statement, but this week it broadcast only a summary.

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agreement to withdraw in six months, the timetable for withdrawal and security of troops can be discussed. Ha Van Lau generally reviewed the two different approaches at Paris, alleging that on one side there is the DRV and PRG side's good will and "serious" effort to achieve a "genuine peace," which is "entirely opposed to the stand of neo-colonialist aggression and the obdurate and tricky attitude of the United States."

In the course of their statements both Mme. Binh and Ambassador Lau made the usual attacks on the Nixon Administration, charging it with intensifying the war in the hope of achieving a position of strength and with slighting and downgrading the Paris talks, complaining about its stress on Vietnamization, and commenting on the "deceptive" nature of the U.S. troop reductions. Ha Van Lau also described the U.S. attitude at Paris as "obdurate, tortuous and deceitful" and remarked that American proposals at the talks, such as mutual withdrawal, have been "utterly unreasonable and arrogant." He added that from the beginning of the conference the United States has not moved "an inch" away from its basic position of "neocolonialist aggression."

ALLIED "CRIMES" In condemning the Vietnamization plan, under whose "cover" the United States is intensifying "terrorism and mass slaughter" in South Vietnam, Mme. Binh presented details of a "new" crime, the data on which was contained in a 15 January communique released by the South Vietnam "Committee to Denounce U.S.-Puppet War Crimes." This latest crime is alleged to have been committed in two districts of Quang Nam Province by South Vietnamese and Korean forces during Operation "Sea Tiger" from 11 to 16 November 1969. Mme. Binh termed it "one of the biggest and most barbarous mass slaughters" perpetrated by allied troops in the first year of the Nixon Administration.

The VNA account does not report that Ha Van Lau, in a statement read prior to delivery of his prepared statement, noted Mme. Binh's disclosure of the Quang Nam crimes and "strongly" protested them. Lau also protested alleged instances of U.S. "serious" violations of DRV security and sovereignty by, for example, sending B-52's to launch raids against the northern part of the DMZ on 13 and 14 January.

ALLIED SPEECHES The VNA account says that the U.S. and "puppet" delegates repeated the "old proposals which had been made time and again in the past year and which had all been rejected." VNA acknowledges the basic thrust of GVN Ambassador Pham Dang Lam's presentation, saying he "recalled a proposal put forward by the Thieu puppet clique on 11 July 1969 on six principles of election." But it acknowledges none of the details of the proposals.

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VNA says that Ambassador Habib "acclaimed Pham Dang Lam's moderate policy for free elections so as to cover up the dirty aggressive nature of the United States in Vietnam." Habib, it continues, "alleged that the U.S. objective is to respect the right of self-determination of the people of South Vietnam and that the United States is ready to discuss everything except that right of self-determination." VNA adds the comment that "in short, as in the 50 previous sessions, the U.S. position remains one of aggression and its attitude remains stubborn and tricky. As for the Saigon puppet clique, they have revealed more clearly their traitorous and puppet nature."

REBUTTALS VNA's account of the communist rebuttal remarks is standard in noting that Binh and Lau "sternly criticized all the erroneous contentions of the United States and its stooges and laid bare the U.S. aggressive scheme and its vicious move in its so-called respect of the right of self-determination of the people of South Vietnam." Both, according to the account, "stressed that the United States must bear full responsibility for the dragging out of the war in South Vietnam and the deadlock of the Paris conference." As usual, VNA ignores the allied speakers' rebuttal remarks.

ANNIVERSARY COMMENT A review on the occasion of the first anniversary of the talks also appears in a 24 January NHAN DAN Commentator article. It lists Ambassador Lodge's appointment as head of the U.S. delegation, the "playing down" of the NFLSV delegation's role, and President Nixon's statement in his inaugural address that the talks could be lengthy as the "first evidences of U.S. lack of good will" in seeking a "correct" political solution to the war. Both sides' positions and major proposals during the year are discussed in detail along standard lines. Commentator says the Nixon Administration's "scheme" has become apparent through the increase in military activities in South Vietnam, the "barbarous" U.S. crimes committed there, and the continued Paris deadlock caused by the United States.

On the 23d, a Hanoi radio commentary similarly reviews the talks and the "struggle between two diametrically contradictory stands and attitudes." The U.S. proposal for restricted Paris sessions is among the U.S. approaches criticized as designed to "mislead" public opinion.

ISSUE OF U.S. PRISONERS IN THE DRV

HANOI Hanoi continues its attack on the Nixon Administration's "noisy campaign" on the prisoner-of-war issue. On 21 January a Hanoi radio broadcast in English to Southeast Asia cites the GDR news agency ADN for the report that an Indian member of Parliament had condemned U.S. authorities for "encouraging" four American women to seek Prime Minister Gandhi's assistance in locating their husbands downed over the DRV.

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The broadcast goes on to note that recently U.S. authorities "banned interviews" with released prisoners, fearing that they would "tell the truth about the humanitarian policy" of the DRV and PRG. It says that when Radio Moscow began broadcasting messages from U.S. army men captured in Vietnam, the State Department "showed strong reaction. It is clear that Washington is worrying that the truth contained in these messages would shatter its lies." VNA on 26 January carries a summary of an article in the 23 January issue of the Cuban magazine BOHEMIA which parrots the DRV position on the prisoner-of-war issue.

MOSCOW Moscow continues to give some publicity to the issue of U.S. prisoners in the DRV. Radio Peace and Progress on 22 January carries a statement by a captured pilot addressed to Americans who oppose the war which expresses support for their protest activities. A shorter version of this message had been included in Radio Moscow's 19 January English language broadcast of pilots' Christmas messages. On 21 January Radio Peace and Progress repeated another of these messages which urged GIs in South Vietnam to support the peace movement at home. Unlike Hanoi, Moscow has not mentioned the State Department protest over Moscow's broadcasting of prisoners' messages.

A 21 January broadcast in English to the United Kingdom briefly reports that the DRV charge d'affaires in Laos told a group of American pilots' wives that the United States is trying to play on humanitarian feelings when it raises the matter of the captured pilots and that it is the fault of the U.S. Government that the pilots have become "war criminals." To obtain their return, he said, U.S. aggression in Vietnam must be ended. Radio Peace and Progress repeated this report in English to Asia on the 26th.

"CRIMES" IN SOUTH VIETNAM

In addition to the propaganda on the Paris session, other comment on the alleged November "massacre" in Quang Nam Province includes VNA's report of a 21 January statement issued by the Committee of the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialists and Henchmen's Persecution of South Vietnamese Intellectuals. (This group also protested the Son My incident.) The same VNA item also cites a 20 January press conference held by the PRG representative in Hanoi. NHAN DAN in an article on the 21st, broadcast by Hanoi radio, cites the statement of the South Vietnam War Crimes Commission in condemning the "massacre." As in earlier propaganda, NHAN DAN says this "massacre" proves that Son My was not an isolated incident occurring only under the Johnson Administration.

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A Liberation Radio commentary on the 20th denouncing allied "crimes" in general makes an unusual reference to the communists' killing of civilians in Hue in 1968. It claims that "the people" tried many "cruel agents" in Hue and that those who repented were given mercy. The commentary says that because of the accusations leveled at them the allies have "falsely accused the VC of killing civilians."* They have "shamelessly distorted history" by forcing the people to dig up the graves of these "wicked agents punished by our people" during Tet. The commentary asserts that "one cannot equate cruel murders with civilians or countrysellers with patriots." The Hue people who punished the "cruel agents have never confused right with wrong."

At the height of the propaganda concerning Son My the National Reunification Committee of the DRV National Assembly on 6 December issued a statement which attacked Saigon for "cynically charging the PLAF with murdering civilians in Hue." The only previous known mention of the Hue murders, other than in comment around the time of the Tet offensive, came in a Hanoi broadcast on 27 April 1969 of an LPA item attacking the Saigon government for setting up a committee for "burial of the hooligan lackeys who had owed blood debts to the Tri-Thien-Hue compatriots and who were annihilated by the southern armed forces and people in early Mau Than spring."

PREPARATIONS FOR VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY 40TH ANNIVERSARY

Hanoi propaganda continues to anticipate the 3 February celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Vietnam Workers Party. On 24 January, VNA carries a chronology of the main events of the party's history beginning with its founding in 1930 and ending with former President Ho Chi Minh's funeral on 9 September 1969. Also on the 24th, Hanoi radio notes that it will broadcast a serial program "40 Years Under the Party's Glorious Banner." The broadcast reports that for this purpose the Department of Party History and Research under the Central Committee and Hanoi radio "cosponsored a recorded talk" on the leadership of the party and President Ho during the past 40 years. According to the broadcast, Ha Huy Giap, vice chairman of the Department of Party History and Research, said that the talks were aimed at introducing to the people of both North and South Vietnam the "great"

* Ha Van Lau at the 15 January Paris session specifically acknowledged the allied charges of PLAF slaughters in Hue in 1968, but the VNA account deleted his specific reference to Hue, saying only that he said the United States is trying to mislead public opinion by claiming that the "PLAF had committed mass slaughters."

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events of the party's history and its "correct revolutionary line, . . . thereby raising our people's faith in the party's leadership."

ARMY CONFERENCE ON FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT, "THRIFT"

Hanoi radio reports on 22 January that the Defense Ministry "recently" held an all-army conference of good financial management units* which was aimed at citing achievements and publicizing exemplary units in the campaign to strengthen financial management, practice thrift, and oppose corruption and waste. The radio briefly notes that Defense Minister Giap addressed the conference on the significance of the current strengthening of management of finance and economy and pointed out strong points and shortcomings in the army's finance work.

The broadcast says that Giap also stressed the need for various party echelons to understand the concept of thriftiness, to rely mainly on their own resources, and to correctly implement party and state policies as well as procedures and principles on management of finance, material supplies and property, and troop strength and labor in the army.

A NHAN DAN editorial of the 23d, broadcast by Hanoi radio, points out that the army has for the past few years heightened its sense of thriftiness and management of finances since the people have endured hardships "to supply our army with all the necessary things." The editorial recalls that at a recent meeting, the Council of Ministers approved a number of measures "concerning economic and financial management to be taken to use the capital with the highest efficiency."** Noting that "every day our army disposes of a large quantity of social wealth," NHAN DAN says the practice of economy in the army "must be reflected in the management of manpower, labor, material supplies, property, and finance."

* Hanoi comment has periodically urged army personnel to practice thrift--one of Ho's virtues which should be emulated. The holding of an all-army financial conference had been mentioned in a 3 April 1968 QUAN DOI NHAN DAN article.

** On 16 January VNA had reported a "recent" Council of Ministers meeting held to discuss and adopt the draft state budget for 1970 and "decide measures to strengthen the financial and economic management aimed at making the most efficient use of funds."

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SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

MOSCOW SUSTAINS POLEMICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINESE

Moscow has sustained its wide-ranging polemics against the Chinese, attempting to enlist support for the Soviet case in the international arena while probing leadership dissensions in Peking. There is currently no Soviet comment on either the Peking talks or the border question, however, and the urgency of tone that marked some of the earlier polemical comment this month has abated.

The first critical reference by a Soviet leader since the agreement to hold talks was contained in a report by CPSU Secretary Ponomarev to a Moscow theoretical conference on 19 January. Ponomarev stated that "Imperialism pins special hopes on the splinter course of the present Chinese leadership, and especially on its anti-Soviet policy."

Peking has muted its anti-Soviet polemics since the outburst at the turn of the year. Most of the comment on Soviet policies carried in CPR central media has been incidental or attributed to foreign sources. A 22 January NCNA report on Vice President Agnew's recent tour takes both the United States and the Soviet Union to task for their Asian policies, and Peking has also circulated foreign comment critical of Soviet behavior in Asia.

While Chinese provincial media continue to thread familiar appeals for war preparedness through a variety of domestic subjects, a Peking broadcast in Mandarin to Taiwan on 20 January introduces an unusual formulation regarding the nuclear threat. Observing that the nuclear monopoly of "imperialism and social imperialism" was broken long ago, the broadcast warns the CPR's enemies: "Using nuclear weapons to threaten the people of China and the world places them too under the threat of nuclear weapons." Thus, according to the broadcast, they will encounter opposition from their own people as well as the peoples of the world.

SOVIET PRESS The Soviet central press has continued to carry critical descriptions of developments in China. An article on the militarization of Chinese youth, in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the 23d, suggestively probes CPR factional differences and discontent with present policies. Portraying most current events in China--including the soldiers "taking their seats in the north-bound trains"--as being in tune with "the roll of the drum," it observes that the ebb and flow of anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns in China is "being utilized by some Maoists against others within the ruling elite." The article is replete with references to "the Maoists." Warning that the anti-Soviet hysteria in China has reached a scale

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where its authors "may lose control over their own actions," the author declares that even if the number of drums in China is increased "a hundredfold, sooner or later Chinese youth will grasp the essence of what is happening."

A 24 January TASS article on education in the CPR, carried in the central press on the 25th, reports that China's institutes of higher education have been put under military administration, that many students have been forced to go to the country for rustication and most professors for "reeducation," and that destruction of the educational system is causing widespread dissatisfaction in China. A LITERARY GAZETTE article on 21 January alleges that the Chinese leaders are subordinating the theater and the cinema "to their adventurist aims" by criticizing any attempt at realistic portrayal of war and its consequences. They seek instead, LITERARY GAZETTE says, "to convince the audience and the reader of the immutability of the Chinese leadership's 'military doctrine.'"

BROADCASTS TO CHINA Pressing the argument that the Chinese militarization campaign is intended to distract attention from domestic difficulties and "to cover up the bankruptcy" of the CPR's foreign policy, Moscow has pursued its effort in Chinese-language broadcasts to counter the Chinese portrayal of an impending Soviet thermonuclear attack on the CPR by stressing past Soviet friendship for the Chinese people and present Soviet desires for a normalization of relations. Emphasizing that "if a global thermonuclear war breaks out, half of mankind will be annihilated," a commentary in Mandarin on 22 January--observing that such a "tragic catastrophe" would inflict "serious damage" on the cause of communism--revives the sensationalist anti-Mao allegation that "the Peking leaders cry out that for the sake of revolution they agree to the annihilation of half of mankind."

In the absence of any recent major anti-Soviet material originating in Peking, Soviet comment beamed to China continues to be keyed to the New Year's Day joint editorial which sharply assailed the Soviets and denounced Brezhnev personally. Taking issue with the editorial's appraisal of the past decade, a commentary in Mandarin on the 26th accuses the Chinese leaders of having betrayed socialist foreign policy goals in the 1960's and predicts that in the 1970's "the imperialists and other enemies of socialism will applaud the Chinese leaders' policy." The commentary expresses hope that "the time is not far off for the Chinese people to hold the destiny of their country in their own hands" and to return the country to the road of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other revolutionary forces.

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Soviet broadcasts in minority languages* continue the renewed effort to exploit discontent in the CPR border areas of Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, and Tibet. Claiming that "unprecedented militaristic acts are being carried out against the Soviet Union in these regions," these broadcasts warn that the Peking leaders intend to "accelerate the extermination of non-Han nationals" and are stepping up their efforts to turn the national regions into "real colonies"--as evinced by the mass movement of Chinese youths from Peking, Shanghai, Canton, and Wuhan to the national minority regions.

* In an apparent effort to preclude reception in Sinkiang of broadcasts from Tashkent and Alma Ata (whose transmitters carry programs in Uighur and Kazakh), the Urumchi regional service in Uighur has been transmitting on a number of unannounced frequencies--in parallel with its normal frequencies--which are on or near frequencies normally used by Tashkent and Alma Ata.

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SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

PEKING CARRIES LOW-LEVEL ATTACKS ON U.S. POLICIES

Having briefly reported the 135th session of the Warsaw talks on 20 January, Peking has issued a stream of low-level reports attacking various aspects of U.S. domestic and foreign policies. While again denouncing Vice President Agnew's visit to Taiwan, Peking has also provided other reminders of the Taiwan question with reports describing oppressive conditions under Chiang Kai-shek's rule, including an NCNA English report carried in the same transmission as the announcement on the Warsaw meeting. There has been no authoritative commentary on Sino-U.S. relations during this period, and Peking has maintained its silence on U.S. initiatives toward relaxing tensions with the mainland.

A 22 January NCNA account of the Agnew tour says the Vice President was sent to Asia to allay "fear and uneasiness among the U.S. puppets" there over the Administration's new Asian policy. Characteristically, the account carefully ignores the Vice President's visits to Nepal and Afghanistan. As in an earlier report, on 5 January, the agency claims that his visit to Taiwan demonstrates that the United States remains hostile toward the CPR. The report also assails "Soviet revisionist social imperialism" for its Asian policies and renews the charge of Soviet support for a two-Chinas scheme--the subject of a CPR protest on 9 January.

Peking has also devoted attention to the U.S. position in the Western world, including a 23 January PEOPLE'S DAILY article chronicling the decline of American economic superiority among capitalist nations; an NCNA correspondent's account on 25 January of anti-U.S. revolutionary struggle in Latin America in the past decade; and two NCNA reports on Canada, dated 18 and 20 January, which follow up on an 8 September 1969 account of the U.S. economic "stranglehold" on that country. A major thrust in the material on Canada has been directed at alleged U.S. domination. While applying standard propaganda themes in depicting a rising revolutionary struggle armed with Mao's thought, Peking has taken care to avoid mentioning the Canadian Government and has channeled its pressure against the U.S. role in Canadian affairs.

MOSCOW LINKS U.S. INITIATIVES TOWARD CPR TO GUAM DOCTRINE

While continuing to be wary in commenting on Sino-U.S. relations, Moscow has begun taking note of long-term implications of what it terms Washington's flirtation with Peking. PRAVDA's senior commentator Yuriy Zhukov, reviewing Vice President Agnew's Asian tour on 24 January, puts the matter in a strategic framework in relating U.S. initiatives toward Peking to the Guam doctrine. This line of analysis is elaborated

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in an article by Far East specialist D. Volskiy in NEW TIMES No. 4 (dated 22 January) discussing the 20 January Warsaw meeting. Drawing extensively from foreign sources, the article suggests a link between the Guam doctrine and Peking's more forthcoming attitude toward contacts with the United States as well as its anti-Soviet campaign. As in other comment in recent years addressed to the triangular relationship, the article raises the possibility of a strategic accommodation between Peking and Washington based on spheres of influence in Asia.

Comment on the resumption of the Warsaw talks is also contained in a PRAVDA international review by Ratiani on 25 January which, while avoiding a direct judgment on the talks, makes a pitch for understanding of the Soviet position in the evolving relationship. Ratiani seeks to needle the Chinese by noting in this context that, following Vice President Agnew's affirmation of U.S. support for Chiang Kai-shek, the Administration announced its decision to supply Taiwan with aircraft and Congress was examining the possibility of further arms deliveries.

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MIDDLE EAST

PRAVDA ARTICLE OUTLINES SOVIET PROPOSALS ON MIDEAST

For the first time in Soviet mass propaganda, PRAVDA specifically identifies various elements of the Soviet proposals for a Middle East settlement. An article by E. Maksimov in the 27 January issue insists on the possibility of a political solution to the crisis and sees "undoubted advantage" in the "universal and all-embracing nature" of the Soviet proposals, which it discusses in some detail. After the substance of the December 1968 Soviet proposals was outlined in a Vasilyev article in PRAVDA just a year ago, on 25 January, Moscow propaganda from time to time last spring summed up the proposals but, like Vasilyev, without identifying them. And after the first explicit public reference to the existence of Soviet proposals--made by Podgornyy in a speech in Algiers on 27 Mar 1--commentators occasionally mentioned a Soviet plan, but without indicating its contents.*

POLITICAL SETTLEMENT Maksimov sustains the Soviet argument that a political solution to the Middle East crisis is possible, although he acknowledges that "many people," under conditions of Israeli military actions and "expansionist" ambitions, "do not believe or cease to believe in political methods" of settling the conflict. The "idea about the 'unreality' of a political solution is being bandied about single-mindedly by certain circles," he says. He argues, however, that the growth of the Arab armies' combat capability "is working in favor" of a political solution, as is the "constructive position" of such countries as the UAR, Jordan, Lebanon, and "certain others." And he rejects "Western propaganda speculations" about the position of Syria and Iraq, declaring that many state figures in these countries, while skeptical that Israel will withdraw, "do not, on the whole, reject the diplomatic path" of seeking a settlement.

* In his 10 July Supreme Soviet speech last year Gromyko acknowledged the existence of new proposals--those submitted to the United States on 17 June--when he mentioned Soviet proposals, "specifically those recently put forward," aimed at a political settlement of the crisis. He did not elaborate on their substance. Since then, the only known discussion of the substance of any Soviet proposals came in an 8 August Moscow domestic service commentary by Zavyalov, who did not specifically identify the measures he advocated as part of an official Soviet proposal. See the TRENDS of 29 January 1969, pages 10-12; the FBIS SURVEY of 8 May 1969, pages 13-14; and the TRENDS of 13 August 1969, pages 25-26.

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U.S. PROPOSALS While PRAVDA criticizes the American proposals as pro-Israel, unilateral, and "naturally rejected" by the Arabs, the tone of the article as a whole is relatively restrained. Maksimov finds that he can "agree with Secretary of State Rogers" about the "explosive" potential impact of the crisis on international security, remarking that the threat to peace "is not confined to the limits of the region."

The article complains that the United States, "in the form of worn-out formulas," calls for agreement on everything acceptable to Israel, with what is unacceptable to be transferred to direct Arab-Israeli negotiations planned under conditions of Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands. As a result of such an approach, he says, "there remain many 'blank spaces' in the American position." He cites as an example the absence in the U.S. proposals of "a major proposition" on the mutual dependence of Israeli withdrawal and cessation of the state of war, and he notes that "on the whole nothing is said" about when Israeli military evacuation will begin and end. Maksimov particularly disagrees with the U.S. proposals as concerns withdrawal and boundary adjustments. Observing that the American suggestions "attempt to justify some recarving of the frontiers," and "even include" Israel among the countries determining the fate of the occupied territories, Maksimov pronounces these proposals "completely unacceptable."

SUBSTANCE OF THE SOVIET PROPOSALS The Soviet proposals, according to PRAVDA, proceed from the fact that Israel and the participating Arab states should express readiness "voluntarily" to implement all provisions of the November 1967 Security Council resolution, should recognize the impermissibility of annexation of territory by means of war, and should recognize the necessity to establish a just and stable peace under which every state in the region may live in security.

The Maksimov article puts the usual Soviet emphasis on Israeli withdrawal, saying the Soviet Union is convinced of the need to rule out territorial concessions "to the aggressor." The Soviet proposals, Maksimov says, recommend coordination of Israeli withdrawal with the cessation of the state of war between Israel and the Arabs. Withdrawal could begin, he says, on the day that a "concluding document, agreed on by the sides by means of contacts through Jarring," is deposited with the United Nations. On that day, he adds, actual cessation of the state of war should take place, and the sides should refrain from hostilities. Total cessation of war should be officially declared when all Israeli troops are behind the pre-5 June 1967 lines.

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Maksimov says the Soviet proposals insure "inviolability" of the Middle East states; if the Israeli troops are withdrawn behind the lines that existed before 5 June, "the 'recognized frontiers' of the states of the area" can be guaranteed either by the UN Security Council or by its four permanent members. The proposals also suggest that demilitarized zones be established on both sides of the frontiers by agreement of the states concerned, he adds. With the agreement of the UAR and in accordance with a Security Council decision, it is also envisaged to locate UN troops in the Gaza Strip and in Sharm ash-Shaykh area, Maksimov states.

With regard to the Palestinian refugee question, Maksimov says the proposals provide that Israel should pledge to implement UN decisions on the refugees, which envisage, "in particular," the return of the refugees or compensation for property of those who wish to remain in the Arab countries. And the proposals provide for "freedom of navigation for all states through the Tiran Strait, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Suez Canal."

BACKGROUND The points set forth in the Maksimov article seem to follow, in general, the propositions in the Vasilyev PRAVDA article of last January, particularly as regards the withdrawal and simultaneous ending of the state of war and an agreement, reached "through Jarring," to be deposited with the United Nations at the beginning of Israeli withdrawal. Both call for withdrawal to the pre-5 June 1967 lines; references to the pre-5 June lines had virtually disappeared from the propaganda in the months prior to the January 1969 Vasilyev article. The few subsequent references during the year included Kosygin's call last December, in a speech at a luncheon for a visiting UAR delegation, for withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied in June 1967. And a Moscow broadcast in French to Algeria as recently as 5 January described "the key to a just settlement" as withdrawal "beyond the cease-fire lines that existed before 1967."

In treating guarantees of Arab-Israeli borders, both Vasilyev and Maksimov fail to go into the problem of final borders, nor do they provide any details regarding demilitarized zones, aside from Maksimov's observation that there will be restrictions of a "purely military nature," giving no advantages to any one side. In the only known public indication of the Soviet position on this question since the Vasilyev article last January, a Belyayev article in the July 1969 issue of ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY argued that should such zones be created again, it must be "with the agreement of both sides and at equal width."

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The Maksimov formula on refugees is Moscow's standard position on the issue, most recently reiterated by Primakov in the 14 January PRAVDA. On navigation, Maksimov is more explicit than Vasilyev, who suggested only that agreement be reached on a "guarantee of freedom of navigation in international waters." Soviet propaganda has generally tied navigation through Suez to the refugee question, supporting the UAR's "fair proposal," as Belyayev said in a September 1969 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS article, to let Israel use the Suez Canal provided the refugee question was solved. Writing in the same journal in October 1968, Belyayev had said it was "reasonable" that passage of Israel's ships through the Suez Canal should be "directly dependent" on settlement of the fate of the refugees. As for navigation through the Tiran Strait and Aqaba--another question rarely treated in the propaganda--Belyayev had said that "no special decision by an international authority concerning navigation" in the Gulf of Aqaba "has been taken so far."

In a May 1969 article, also in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Belyayev said that "under existing international regulations," ships of all countries must accept the security measures taken by the UAR and Saudi Arabia since the Aqaba and Tiran waters are "territorial waters" belonging to these two states. Primakov in the February 1969 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, however, had referred to the Security Council resolution as listing, among the conditions necessary to achieve peace, "freedom of navigation along all sea routes."

NIXON MESSAGE SEEN AS SHOWING FULL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

Moscow predictably cites President Nixon's 25 January message to the Washington conference of presidents of American Jewish organizations as further evidence of Washington's "insincerity" in declaring it seeks peace in the Middle East. In line with current Soviet propaganda attention to Western arms deliveries to Israel, commentators focus on the President's pledge of arms assistance should the need arise, saying that the message confirms U.S. intentions to continue sending arms to Israel. Soviet comment does not take cognizance--as a Bucharest radio commentary on the 26th does--of the President's expression of preference for restraint in the shipment of arms to the area.

Moscow also underlines the President's remarks on Arab-Israeli negotiations. A Kushnir foreign-language commentary on the 26th asserts that by approving Israel's desire for direct talks, the President "revealed his support" for Israel's "expansionist" plans, in that Israel would be negotiating while continuing to occupy Arab territory. Kushnir points out that the message does not mention Israeli withdrawal, the "foremost condition" laid down by the November 1967 Security Council resolution.

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Moscow depicts Arab reaction as one of "indignation and alarm" and notes that Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir welcomed the President's message. An Arabic-language commentary on the 26th says the message exposes the "falsehood" of Washington's recent "allegations about its efforts for a political settlement" in the Middle East. The broadcast finds it "significant" that the message came at a time when Israel is conducting "a fresh series of huge armed provocations" against the Arab countries.

ARMS ISSUE, ISRAELI RAIDS

Typical of Moscow's emphasis on Western arms deliveries to Israel, a Kushnir commentary, broadcast in English to North America on the 24th, claims that not only the United States but Britain and West Germany are providing arms, with Belgian and Greek ports serving as clearing points and South Africa also involved, as "its fliers, together with American fliers, are bombing Arab cities and villages." And Koryavin in the 25 January IZVESTIYA charges the United States with urging Israel to new military adventures by supplying it with "offensive weapons" and "generous financial aid." TASS reports from London on the 28th on private Western investments in Israel's munitions industry, as well as on military assistance by Western governments.

As for the French arms deal with Libya, TASS on the 24th asserts that to justify plans to increase military deliveries to Israel, "Tel Aviv's Western patrons circulate a story of their own invention" to the effect that Libya's purchase of French planes has disrupted the arms balance in the Middle East. Treating the French decision approvingly, a domestic service commentary on the 23d says that the "community of French-Soviet views" on the Middle East was confirmed during French Foreign Minister Schumann's October visit to Moscow. France, it adds, having "firmly resolved" not to review its arms embargo policy regarding Israel, is continuing its "traditional friendly economic relations" with many Arab countries and has "decided to aid the young Libyan Republic."

At the same time, Moscow's concern with recent Israeli military exploits against the UAR is evident in propaganda assertions that Israel is trying to undermine the UAR regime through military actions and propaganda campaigns against the UAR "and President Nasir personally." There are acknowledgments--as in Koryavin's IZVESTIYA article--of Israeli attempts to put Egyptian radar installations "out of action" and of overflights near Cairo. And there are suggestions that further Israeli penetrations may be expected: Koryavin says that the recent operations are aimed at opening up an opportunity "for more extensive actions" over UAR territory, and TASS on the 26th, citing a L'HUMANITE article, speculates on "far-reaching" Israeli plans in noting Israeli army exercises "in crossing the Suez Canal."

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BERLIN SITUATION

MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN SUSTAIN PROPAGANDA ATTACKS ON MEETINGS

East German and Soviet propaganda media continue routinely to assail the West German parliamentary meetings held in West Berlin from 19 to 27 January, but neither has been heard to mention the harassment of road traffic to and from the city which coincided with the opening of the meetings. Having attacked the planned meetings in a note first reported by ADN on the 10th, the GDR Foreign Ministry through a spokesman on 21 January "emphatically condemned" the meetings which convened despite "serious warnings." The spokesman said they are aimed at continuing the earlier, unsuccessful policy of the CDU/CSU vis-a-vis West Berlin. In the vein of the note of 10 January, the spokesman warned that the "provocative attitude" of the Bonn government will not remain "without consequences."

On 25 January, ADN briefly reports that Chancellor Brandt will enter the "independent political entity" of West Berlin to "discharge 'official duties,'" concluding that "the representatives of this policy of disruption and interferences, which is opposed to detente, bear full responsibility for all consequences."

Moscow has also taken note of Brandt's attendance at the "provocative" meetings in West Berlin which allegedly violate the city's status as an "independent political entity." A Radio Moscow commentary for German audiences on the 27th is adamant in declaring that West Berlin does not and will not belong to the FRG and that its current status "is stipulated by the four-power decisions." Pointing up the fact that the parliamentary meetings were called at a time when a European security conference is being prepared and when the GDR has submitted a draft treaty on normalizing relations between the two German states, the commentary concludes that Bonn's actions "have naturally influenced the socialist countries and the peoples of Europe in their assessment" of West German policy.

USSR Defense Minister Grechko's 26 January arrival in East Berlin and his meeting with Ulbricht are reported promptly by Soviet and East German media. Available reports do not link the visit to the situation in Berlin, noting only that its purpose is to develop further military cooperation between the armed forces of the two states.

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N I G E R I A

PRAVDA ARTICLE SEES LESSONS FOR AFRICA IN NIGERIAN WAR

A 22 January article in PRAVDA by Moscow's leading African commentator Kudryavtsev, assessing the implications of the Nigerian war for Africa as a whole, concludes that "it has emphasized with particular force the urgent necessity of putting the earliest possible end to the colonialist legacy." Broadcast to Radio Moscow's African audiences on the 22d, the article argues that to avoid future Nigerias in Africa it is necessary "to liquidate the dominance of the African countries' economies by large foreign monopolies." It was precisely the struggle for Nigeria's oil and mineral wealth, Kudryavtsev adds, that precipitated attempts "to chop off so-called Biafra from the rest of Nigeria." In effect urging African countries to increase their pressure on Western economic interests in Africa, he praises recent efforts by Zambia, Uganda, and Sierra Leone "to deliver themselves from the sway of foreign monopolies in their economies." Zambia nationalized its copper industry last year.

Kudryavtsev also views the Nigerian conflict as another example of what happens when judgments are based on vague humanist concerns rather than on class struggle. Remarking on the fact that some unnamed African leaders supported the Biafrans, he says they should now be convinced of the dangers of yielding to "first impressions" and to a feeling of "classless humanism." They should also be convinced, he adds, of the dangers of supporting "separatists," which "deals a direct blow against African unity" and deflects attention from the OAU's main goal: the struggle to "purge" the continent as quickly as possible of colonialism. As if to make it clear that his purpose is to advise, not censure, he depicts those African countries which supported the secessionists as unwitting victims of the "imperialist" West--"disoriented" by Western propaganda. His principal targets here would seem to be Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast, which had recognized Biafra as a sovereign state.

The article makes an evident effort to discredit any U.S. attempt to play a role in Nigeria's postwar development, introducing the allegation that "the imperialists, the Americans in particular, are already kindling tribal strife in the west [of Nigeria] and are aspiring this time to select the Yoruba people as their victim." Sustaining the propaganda emphasis on an image of the Soviet Union, by contrast, as a benevolent friend of Nigeria and African unity, Kudryavtsev suggests that the final lesson to be drawn is that "the positive results" of Nigeria's cooperation with the socialist countries demonstrates that "the guarantee of the success of the African people's struggle lies in the anti-imperialist unity of all "the progressive forces"--among which Moscow places itself in the lead.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DUBCEK COMES UNDER ATTACK AS HE ASSUMES ANKARA POST

Prague and Ankara on the 26th announce the arrival of new Ambassador Alexander Dubcek in the Turkish capital, amid stepped-up attacks at home against the former CPCZ First Secretary and Yugoslav and Western reports that he was forced to resign his last remaining party function--member of the Central Committee--prior to his departure.

On the eve of the party plenum, scheduled to open on the 28th, Czechoslovak media have not so far mentioned Dubcek's official party status. But a commentary by Tesar in the Prague domestic service on the 26th, dealing with the plenum agenda item on "the exchange of party membership cards," transparently censured Dubcek for his refusal so far to engage in self-criticism: "Today, as these people are leaving their functions, some of them pretend to be heroes, declaring that they have forsaken nothing of their views on 'building socialism with a human face'--naturally. . . ., anti-Soviet socialism--and that they will not do so." Tesar went on to note that as soon as Radio Free Europe found out that the new Czechoslovak party leadership of April 1969 "was different from the Dubcek leadership--principled and uncompromising--there was again a wave of incitement and slander."

Personal attacks made on Dubcek at the time of his appointment to the new ambassadorial post, in mid-December, had still focused largely on his ineptitude in checking the "antisocialist" forces, rather than assailing him directly on ideological grounds.

ALOIS INDRA Soviet media have ignored the whole subject of Dubcek's appointment as Ambassador to Turkey and, presumably awaiting an official CPCZ announcement on Dubcek's party status, have not publicized the recent attacks on the fallen leader. Thus TASS' report of a speech by party Secretary Alois Indra on the 20th to a Prague conference of representatives of bloc and nonbloc parties--on Lenin and the party's leading role--included his reference to the Czechoslovak experience as showing the results of "the slightest deviation" from Leninism, but not his personal attack on Dubcek. According to CTK and the Prague press, Indra said the rise of "rightwing revisionism" in 1968-69 "was made possible mainly thanks to Dubcek's liberalist leadership," and "the evil lies in the fact that we chose as First Secretary of the Central Committee a person who was unstable ideologically, with marked inclinations toward petty bourgeois ideology in practice."

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Rumored by Yugoslav and Western news sources as in line to succeed Oldrich Cernik as CSSR Premier, Indra was reported by the Prague domestic service on the 21st as receiving a KOMMUNIST delegation headed by chief editor Yegorov at the windup of its visit to Czechoslovakia. Indra and the delegates from the CPSU journal discussed "some present political questions and the main principles of CPCZ policy."

The hardlining Indra had been denounced by liberals as one of those who had "invited" the Warsaw Pact troops to enter in August 1968. He was not listed in the new CPCZ leadership announced at the end of that month. After an extended stay in the USSR, however, he was publicly reinstated as party Secretary on 28 September 1968.

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